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ABSTRACT

It is hypothesized that a "cultural communication" theory is more useful and veridical for explaining ethnically related educational and social inequity than are either "ascriptive" or "deficit" theories. The study site was a successfully desegregated, urban elementary school. A fifth-grade classroom was selected for the intensive observations of the project. Methods utilized include observation of the classroom and the school principal and extended interviews with the principal and classroom teacher. Interactions of students were videotaped and analyzed. A sociometric assessment was also made of the students. Results do show that an important source of educational inequity is found in the confusion resulting from cultural code differences in interethnic encounters. The results of the sociometric analyses suggest the operation of ethnic identity in primary and secondary friendship affiliations among pupils. Extensive videotape analyses of interethnic communication events among students, however, failed to expose the expected differential ethnic patterns. The study concludes with a listing of references. (Author/RM)

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INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS IN A SCHOOL:

A PRETHEORETICAL STUDY

Final Report
for Project NIE-G-78-0121

Submitted to
The National Institute of Education
July, 1980

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INTRODUCTION

Equality among ethnic groups is far more notable in its absence than in its presence; so much so that we have developed innumerable ways of spotting and explaining inequality and dealt only in a passing manner with defining equality. Indeed, common sense tells us that interethnic equality consists fundamentally of the non-salience of a person's ethnic identity. Thus, the goal of certain educators, governmental agents and political activists is to achieve a state of society wherein scholastic achievement, occupational participation, income distribution and political representation are not predicated on one's ethnicity. What is being asked is that the distribution of rewards available in a given society be similar across identifiable ethnic groups. This ideal has not so far been attained in the U.S. or in any other technologically advanced, complex society.

Two theories are commonly offered to explain the differential distribution of social rewards across a given society's ethnic groups. One, known as the "deficit" theory, is rooted in the thought of ancient Greece. The Greeks had a penchant for thinking in pairs, considering each object by contrast with its antithesis. This impulse to dichotomize extended to the social world where inhabitants were known as either "Hellenes" or barbarians (foreign born).

Sikes (1914) argued persuasively that the ancient Greeks "do not recognize race." He asserted that the Greek conception of "Hellene" did not rest on external manifestations of language, culture, religion or physique--the criteria we use today to specify ethnic group membership. Herodotus noted that languages, cultural orientations and religions are "transportable,"

i.e., they may be adopted by anyone who learns of them and chooses to acquire them. Physique could not be used to distinguish the Hellene from the barbarian due to the fact that Hellenic physionomic variation was nearly as great as that among the non-Hellenes. Hellenic membership rests, rather, on "family tradition" which translates geneologically to consanguinity with *Hellen*. Whether or not the Hellenic-barbarian distinction is "racial," the idea of a favored, master (host) group juxtaposed with an unfavored, deficient, servile (pariah) group was a reality of ancient Greece.

The idea of a naturally ordered vertical differentiation of peoples acquired a scientific imprimatur by Hunt's widely read articulation of "the Negro's Place in Nature" (1863). In this presidential address to the Anthropological Society of London, Hunt collected an impressive quantity of data to support his contention that

> . . . The Negro is intellectually inferior to the European, and that the analogies are far more numerous between the ape and the Negro than between the ape and the European. (p. 245)

To support his conclusion, Hunt noted that the Negro's "shoulders, arms and legs are all weak in comparison to the corresponding limbs in the European" (p. 209), something our professional sports coaches would be surprised to learn. Citing a Mr. Dunn, Hunt went on to assert that Negroes are not able to comprehend complex ideas, think or generalize although they do have "excellent memories" (p. 225).

The theme of intellectual ineptitude coupled with significant powers of memorization endures today. Arthur Jensen contends that blacks as a group score well below whites in tests of thinking and general problem-solving while surpassing them at paired-associate or memorization tasks. Jensen opts to explain these differences as a function of black deficiency that

arises from genetic recapitulation. The tests, he has argued on the "Good Morning America," "Phil Donahue" and "Prime Time Sunday" shows, are legitimate and accurate because they predict so well the futures of both blacks and whites. That the tests have strong predictive ability and that blacks are significantly less likely to pursue lengthy formal schooling or acquire well-paying, socially prestigious jobs may be newsworthy but hardly scientifically noteworthy. Predictive validity rests on the extent to which a measure accurately anticipates some future state on the basis of some present configuration of characteristics. If tests did demonstrate that blacks, for example, were comparable to or, indeed, outscored their white counterparts, then the tests would have no predictive value.

An alternative explanation for social inequality among ethnic groups is grounded in the structure of a society's political, economic and educational institutions. Left unchallenged, the institutions of a present generation will reproduce the social order of past generations. U.S. schools--the gatekeepers to occupational entry--will sort students and allocate them to occupational strata commensurate with levels held by their parents and grandparents, and differential economic rewards will follow from this placement. Such ascriptive explanations remove the blame for inequality from the individual or group and place it squarely on the shoulders of the prevailing social structure. To poor or minority persons, it is as if they were marked at birth as social "losers"; going to school, getting (or failing to get) a job and surviving economically are accomplished less by dint of talent and persistence than the playing out of a game whose rules are beyond their control.

In societies where low status people are overtly and visibly distinguishable from the dominant group, we can see this "marking" as a plausible

mechanism for reproducing the social order. Morphological variation, striking differences in mode and quality of dress, and language patterns can all serve quickly and reliably to tag people. Ascriptive explanations are much less powerful, however, in accounting for low status in societies where those of low status are visually and linguistically indistinct from the host population.

The Burakumin of Japan provide one example. They have a long history of oppression, extending back one thousand years. In feudal days, they occupied the lowest rung on the status hierarchy and were systematically excluded from desired occupations. Today they are physically, linguistically, religiously and occupationally indistinct from other Japanese. In fact, they are so similar that teachers of entering Burakumin children are unable to distinguish them from mainstream Japanese (Shimahara, 1971). Yet, by the time they leave school they lag behind in IQ and achievement and are the first to engage in delinquent activities (Brameld, 1968; DeVos & Wagatsuma, 1966). A second example is India. Brahmins dominate the Indian caste system. Given proscriptions against intercaste marriage, one would expect that the caste groups would develop distinct physical characteristics; yet, northern Brahmins resemble northern Indians while Brahmins of the south resemble the shorter, darker skinned southern Indians (Leach, 1975). Even so, measures of mental ability and school achievement remain positively correlated with caste status. The Jews provide a third example. No one can deny the thousands of years of oppression they have experienced. Yet, for the most part the Jewish population of a given country is physically similar to its host population. Polish Jews are more physically similar to other Poles than they are to Algerian Jew, for example. In many societies then, explicit and visible boundaries between pariah and host groups are not evident. The identifying group membership boundaries are small and subtle. Appropriate

identification in these cases is dependent upon the acute perception of cultural minutiae, i.e., it entails a lot of social work and implicit learning by the participants. A comprehensive theory of social relations then cannot depend on simple ascription.

Acknowledging that to the pariah group host behavior is oppressive and to the host group pariah behavior seems inadequate, McDermott poses the question: how do the two groups find this out about each other? If we can trace the genesis of pariah and host status intra-and inter-generationally, then we can begin to explain the central problem. To understand how children acquire failing school biographies (or, alternatively, successful ones) we cannot simply assume either that their status is given at birth nor that it is naturally acquired at a certain stage of their biological development. To understand how some children fail where others succeed, we must examine how identities are negotiated in the everyday politics of school life. We must examine how dominant and minority groups come to hold the views about one another that they do.

The Need for Theoretical Development

The limitations of ascriptive and deficit theories can be located in two features of their development. Fundamentally, they are ex post facto explanations. Taking as given a particular social fact--the host-pariah relationship, for example--they seek to explain the distinction as a rational consequence of a logical and natural ordering of people that is not in any objective sense logical or natural. It may be a social fact that societies create and maintain distinctions among people and come to perceive these distinctions as sensible but it doesn't follow that another society will

view the criteria as sensible. The work of generations of physical anthropologists supports this assertion. There is, of course, human variation in biological terms. It is possible to distinguish humans according to blood and tissue groups, for example. Further, we know that certain genotypes are vulnerable to certain types of diseases. There is no evidence, however, that these biological distinctions articulate with social distinctions among people. Birdsell (1972) studied 28 groups of Australian Aborigines and discovered a gene frequency diversity as extensive as that found in the whole of Eurasia, which includes an incredible array of morphological types. A cross-cultural study of Pygmy groups yielded no seriological basis for the incidence of short people (Buttner-Janusch, 1966). No study of human variation has yielded identification of distinct boundaries; rather, it seems to be the case that there are gradations on a number of physiological continua.

A second critique of existing theories is more pertinent. Our theoretical concepts have been constructed by identifying and combining aspects of groups, locating central tendencies and then attributing levels of the concepts to various groups. This descriptive work has yielded our notions of race, SES, etc. Having abstracted characteristics from groups for descriptive purposes, researchers have in many cases treated the concepts as agents of causation. This tautology can be illustrated in the following way. Indices of SES always contain a factor of educational attainment. As a group, lower SES people have completed fewer years of schooling than higher SES groups. In studies of educational attainment, however, one of the strongest predictors is...SES! Similarly, we have studies of the *effect* of race on educational success as if the hue of a person's skin is the determining factor in his achievement. A thoughtful person should quickly realize that pigmentation

is not the determinant in one's endeavors but, rather, how people of differing hues respond to one another the *meanings* they assign to differing hues. Unfortunately, this is seldom recognized in accounts of schooling. We forget that correlation does not imply causation.

What we *do* have is reams of literature describing characteristics of various socially defined groups. We know that black, Hispanic and native Americans fare poorly as groups in our school systems *vis à vis* white Americans and that Asian and Jewish Americans fare better than the average white American. We do not know specifically how or why these patterns develop and are renewed by succeeding generations. Given existing theories, furthermore, we are not able to provide plausible explanations for individual exceptions to expectations based on group predictions. There is a need, then, to develop a theory of the genesis of host-pariah relations; one that does not force researchers to be tautological.

Toward a Theory of Educational Equity

The host-pariah relationship is evidence of the fact that people make social distinctions among groups within a population. If there are social divisions, then it is in the "politics of every day life" that these distinctions get worked out. And it is in small events of everyday life that the reality of being dominant or subordinate has its impact.

All living things depend on adequate information to survive. To operate in a manner both sensible to oneself and acceptable to others, people need to know what behaviors are appropriate for each of a myraid of social contexts. Two kinds of competence are necessary: linguistic (ability to communicate in gramatically appropriate utterances) and social (knowledge

of what is situationally appropriate) (Hymes, 1974). Although simply stated, this assertion is imbued with extraordinary complexity. Consider the meaning of "context." In an excellent paper, Erickson and Shultz (1977) have described the features of social contexts. Social contexts involve a physical setting--a classroom, a playground, a learning center,--combinations of people, what people are doing and when they are doing it. Social contexts are not simply *given* but are created, and they evolve or change as a function of shared definitions of the situation and the social actions people take with respect to these definitions. As social contexts shift it becomes necessary for the participants continually to redefine or reorient their "ways of speaking, ways of listening, ways of getting the floor and holding it, ways of leading and following" (Erickson & Shultz, 1977, p. 3).

To maintain linguistic and social competence in changing social contexts requires considerable reality testing. Watzlawick (1976) posits two aspects of what we call "reality." First order reality depends on sensory perception and refers to questions of objective, physical properties of things. Second order reality depends on communication and concerns the attribution of meaning and value to things. For people of a given culture, issues of first order reality are seldom disputed; when they are, appeals to specific verification procedures are possible. Questions of second order reality, however, are a constant source of problems in social relations. Discrepancies in cultural rules and norms are immediately--if unconsciously--revealed here. Consider the distance between two people engaged in a discussion. Clearly there is no "correct" distance; yet an appropriate or comfortable distance is tacitly agreed upon within cultural groups. When members of two different groups attempt to communicate, misunderstandings can ensue. If a teacher

used to the northern European "arms length" distance encounters a child who considers 18 inches appropriate the following events may occur as each person adjusts the interpersonal distance to reduce personal discomfort: the child approaches the teacher; she retreats; the child advances further; the teacher again retreats. The child perceives avoidance behavior on the part of the teacher and registers her dislike of him. The teacher "senses" that the child is "pushy." Tragic consequences for the child can result from the achievement of such understandings that are acquired without the explicit recognition of either party. Being in the subordinate role, of course, it is the child who suffers. He may eventually "adapt" to the situation by ceasing to approach the teacher for assistance.

Discrepancies in cultural styles can lead to tremendous confusion. In a study of black and white Americans, Leonard provides another example (1972). He filmed pairs of college students who were requested to shake hands and converse briefly. The analysis of black pairs and white pairs revealed smooth and rhythmic handshakes and conversations with few false starts or uncomfortable moments. The handshakes and conversations of black/white pairs, however, were arrhythmic and punctuated with significantly more false starts. Attempting to communicate with people who do not share one's bodily rhythms and expectations for rhythms can be as fatiguing as trying to communicate with someone who speaks in a foreign language. It is possibly even more frustrating because of lack of awareness of what is causing the discomfort. If linguistic and social competence is at least partly grounded in such subtle communicative codes then the teacher's task of negotiating successfully with as many as thirty different pupils appears formidable.

We have said that survival depends on having adequate information. Information about the environment is acquired by attending to cues and then

making decisions about what is important and unimportant. Attention then, is necessarily selective. Once it has been perceived, information is subjected to a person's "sense-making" capacity and is interpreted. When subjects are in social situations their interpretations are highly dependent on the others in the setting--i.e., people depend on one another to define the content and boundaries of appropriate behavior. Difficulties result when information is inadequate or interpretations are incorrect for a given context.

McDermott describes the serious consequences of social miscommunication for pariah children. Failure to work out code differences in the classroom results in the pariah children turning from academic goals to the development of other abilities, statuses and identities. Children who interpret that they have been inappropriately assessed (from having been assigned, for example, to a low reading group) will adapt their behavior and seek acceptance in other domains. Frequently, this means that they will turn toward their peers and develop status within that group. From the teacher's point of view this behavior confirms his or her negative assessment of the child; from the child's point of view this behavior makes sense as it allows him to escape the discomfort of contradicting the teacher's view while permitting a measure of acceptance within the social milieu. A particularly poignant example of this phenomenon is described in The Naked Children (Fader, 1971). While attempting to institute a literacy program in an inner-city junior high school in Washington, D.C., Fader was accepted as a friend outside the school by a small group of black children. Fader discovered that these children, labeled by their teachers as "hopeless," could not only speak standard English fluently, but also read current non-fiction by choice when not in school. In class, they maintained a "helpless, hopeless" pose not inconsistent

with the expectations of those holding middle class stereotypes of "poor blacks." Outside the school context, they developed literacy under the direction and encouragement of their leader, ninth grade Cleo.

The examples in the foregoing discussion arose independently of each other, yet it seems logical to suspect that such phenomena, however topographically dissimilar, are in fact all symptomatic of underlying differences in the "second order realities" Watzlawick discusses. They are both constructed and responded to by all culturally-defined ethnic groups.

For the purposes of the present research it is not necessary to attempt descriptions of the exact meaning or social interpretation placed by anyone on a particular behavior exhibited by another person. Such an effort is likely to be futile, necessity notwithstanding, since many or most of the behaviors that appear to be culturally meaningful are not consciously noted by individuals in the course of interaction. Even in circumstances involving behavior that is discrepant from that expected, individuals tend to react without conscious awareness of the specific discrepancies. We will now turn, therefore, to a brief review of the evidence for the cultural meaning of specific aspects of interpersonal behavior.

BEHAVIORS OF INTERACTION

In this section we will present a brief review of the research literature pertinent to nonlinguistic behaviors for which differential usages have been related to ethnic identification. For each behavioral category presented, intraethnic findings will be described where available, followed by a summary of findings of interethnic studies. It is important to note here that while behavioral categories are treated separately for the purposes of this review (and, indeed, this is the typical case in the literature), the behaviors involved are appropriately viewed as interdependent. Moreover, this review is not strictly limited to those behaviors that were analyzed in the present investigation. Rather, evidence is presented in support of the argument made above (Introduction) that discrepancies in cultural styles in fact exist in abundance, and that consideration of such differences in turn provides support for the plausibility of the "cultural difference" theory proposed herein for explanations of social and educational inequities.

Proxemic Behavior

Proxemic behavior involves the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal distance in social encounter. Individual variation in proxemic behavior was found by Rosenfeld (1965), who reported that persons seeking (rather than avoiding) approval tend to position themselves closer to others in unstructured social situations. Both Rich (1974) and Coates and Ledden (1977) noted that greater interpersonal distance was associated with more direct orientation of communicating persons (i.e., their angle of confrontation was more nearly parallel) than was less distance, especially when the

latter involved violations of the personal space boundaries of one or both communicants. In addition, Coates and Ledden found by manipulating proximity within pairings of 40 college females that an increase in proximal distance was also associated with more and longer smiling and forward lean than was a decrease in proximal distance. In a study with implications for the understanding of the dynamics of socialization, especially in school, Dean (1976) found that invasions of personal space of adults by 5-year-olds were accepted and those by 8-year-olds were met with general nonresponse, while invasions of space by 10-year-olds were met with avoidance behavior. Ashcraft and Scheflin (1976) also reported that adults tend not to expect compliance with privacy rules until children reach the 5- to 7-year age range.

Evidence of differential patterns of proxemic behavior for specific cultural groups has been offered by several investigators, although some inconsistency of findings exists. Jones and Aiello (1973), for example, compared the typical proximal distance of pairs of "upper lower class" blacks of one school with typical distances established by middle class white pupils in another school in New York City. The researchers reported that blacks stood closer to one another in dyads than did whites, especially in the early grades (first and third), and that proxemic differences between the groups disappeared by the fifth grade. This finding was consistent with that of their earlier study (Aiello & Jones, 1971), from which they had reported that in 210 dyads of black, white, and Puerto Rican first- and second-graders, white children typically stood farther apart that did Puerto Rican or black children. White males, they reported, communicated with the greatest interpersonal distance, while black males used the least, of the groups studied. Scherer (1974), however, analyzed proxemic patterns of

black and white primary school children using both cultural group and socioeconomic status (SES) as independent variables, and concluded that dyadic interaction distances were significantly related to SES but not to cultural identification. In both black and white pairs, Scherer found that middle-SES children used more interpersonal distance than did those of low SES, although the effect was not significant for the black dyads. Baxter (1970) observed Chicano, black, and white conversational dyads in natural settings, and found interpersonal distance greatest for blacks and least for Chicanos, thus providing more confusion to the evidence regarding proxemic behavior. Baxter further reported that while interpersonal distance for whites was the same indoors as outdoors, Chicanos used less distance outdoors than in, and blacks used less distance indoors than out of doors. Connally (1974), using a figure-placement task with adult blacks and whites, reported that blacks saw "closer" as more appropriate, and that they tended to interpret a partner's backward movement more negatively, than did whites. Finally, Willis (1978) reported that mixed-race dyads established greater interpersonal distance than did same-race dyads, based on his observations of pairs of black and white adults.

Orientation

When persons engage in social interaction, they ordinarily position themselves so as to be able to see the face of the person with whom they are communicating. If an imaginary line is drawn through the outer points of each person's clavicles, the angle of the juncture of the two lines may be estimated or measured. If the lines do not meet, i.e., if they are parallel, and the persons are frontally exposed to each other, they may be said to

have established direct orientation; as the angle increases, the persons may be described as less directly, or indirectly, oriented. No references were found to suggest the existence of any general descriptive conventions regarding orientation, yet some cultural differences in orientation patterns have been noted. Jones and Aiello (1973) noted that in their observation of elementary school children, blacks faced one another less directly than did whites, especially in the early grades, and that boys of both groups were less direct in orientation than were girls. Johnson (1971) speculated that black listeners will turn their backs to speakers as a sign of warmth and trust, and Ashcraft and Scheflin (1976) reported that Anglos and Eastern-European Jews seek face-to-face encounter, while blacks and Puerto Ricans resist it and interpret it negatively if forced. The latter authors speculated that orientation patterns were related to patterns of space availability in living quarters, i.e., that indirect orientation patterns may arise as a response to the high interpersonal density of living conditions.

GAZE

Gaze behavior has been related to linguistic behavior more than has any other aspect of nonverbal behavior. Kendon (1967), for example, reported that mutual gaze rarely lasts longer than one second, and that speakers tend to look away from listeners at the beginning of their speech, while listeners look away at the end of a speech. Levine and Sutton-Smith (1978) found looking by speakers at both beginning and end of speeches for adults, but found no consistent pattern for children, and Abramovitch and Daly (1978) reported that, in their sample of 62 preschool and elementary school children, children by the age of 6 made almost perfectly predictable judgments with

respect to relationships on the basis of eye contact alone--in almost all cases, older children expressed preference for a videotaped female who made eye contact rather than for one who did not. The preschool children in the study showed no consistent preference. Ellsworth (1975) theorized that gaze has salience (high probability of being noticed), is associated with arousal, and leads to interpersonal involvement.

Johnson (1971) described a number of differences in the communicative behavior of blacks and whites, among which he described "rolling the eyes" by blacks as likely to mean disapproval or hostility, and as a typical response to reproval. It has been reported that whites tend to look an another person in interaction more during listening than speaking, while the pattern for blacks is the opposite (LaFrance, 1974; Mayo & LaFrance, 1973, 1976; Payne, 197). In noting gaze pattern differences between blacks and whites, Byers and Happie, (1972) speculated that such differences were at least partly responsible for the white stereotype of blacks as shiftless and timid, and the black stereotype of whites as aggressive and domineering.

Kinesics

Kinesics involves the study of body motion and posture. Hall (1966, 1976) asserted that there are culture-specific ways of gesturing, locomoting, sitting, standing, and reclining, although Canden and Sander (1969) reported that neonates move in synchrony with adult speech regardless of culture comembership. Byers and Happie (1975), however, concluded from their research that body-speech rhythms are highly synchronized within cultures, and that lack of synchrony in intercultural encounters affects communication negatively. Unfortunately, little work has been done in this area to allow formulation of specific hypotheses or implications for intercultural communication.

Touch

It appears that touch has been investigated even less than kinesics, although the results of two studies indicate that touching by persons in communication is associated with their cultural membership. Jourard (1968), after having observed adult dyads in coffee shops in Paris, London, San Juan, and Gainesville (Florida), reported that touching occurred 180 times per hour in San Juan, 110 times per hour in Paris, but only twice per hour in Gainesville and not at all in London. Willis and Reeves (1976) observed more than 1,000 black, white, and Mexican elementary and junior-high school children of both sexes, and reported that touching occurred most in black/black dyads and least in black/white dyads.

Paralinguistics

Paralinguistic behavior includes those actions that accompany speech but are not directly responsible for its semantic content. Paralinguistic activity is demonstrated both by speakers and listeners, and may serve three functions: semantic supplementation; speaker regulation; and relational negotiation and maintenance. Semantic supplementation is provided by behaviors that, for example, communicate emphasis or contradiction of the verbal content of speech and in addition provide the listener with information about appropriate response and the speaker with information about the listener's receptivity to the message content. Such information is conveyed by behaviors in the categories already described as well as by verbalization beyond that required for message transmission, nonverbal vocalization, and other characteristics of speech (e.g., tempo, loudness, pitch and pitch variation).

Behaviors that serve to supplement the semantic load of a speech may also serve to regulate the flow of speech between communicants. Duncan (1972) listed several behaviors of speakers that serve as signals that he or she is ready to yield the floor: rising or falling of voice; drawl or stress on final syllable; termination of gesturing; stereotyped expression (e.g., "you know," "or something"); drop in pitch or loudness; and completion of a grammatical clause. A speaker may signal unreadiness to yield the floor by continuing to gesture, vocalizing without a drop in pitch or loudness (e.g., "ummmm"), and by looking away from the listener. Duncan also described "back-channel" behaviors of a listener that encourage a speaker to continue or resume speaking: nodding; saying "um-hmm" or "yeah"; completing the speaker's sentence; and briefly restating the speaker's message. Later, Duncan (1974) observed that back-channel signals occur typically during the earlier portions of a speaker's utterance, and most commonly at phonemic junctures.

A variety of behaviors including gaze, orientation, kinesic activity, and paralinguistic vocalization serve to transmit information between communicants about their perceptions of their status relationship. Relational information conveyed by a speaker's behavior, for example, indicates whether the speaker perceives the listener as having higher, lower, or equivalent status. The listener's behavior signals agreement or disagreement with (his or her interpretation of) the relational message received; in case of disagreement or confusion, behaviors are exhibited which correct or clarify the relational message. In this way, perceived status assignments are negotiated or maintained (mutually confirmed) throughout a communication event (Walzlawick, Beaven, & Jackson, 1967). In addition to the behaviors indicated, relational information may be conveyed by the context in which a communicative event occurs, and by such things as verbal abbreviation and elaboration, and word choice.

General Issues

Scheflin (1964) asserted that communication includes "all behaviors by which a group forms, sustains, mediates, corrects, and interprets its relationships" (p. 318), and Exline and Fehr (1978) opined that all behavior is potentially communicative. Communicative competence is acquired from infancy, and the process of acquisition occurs primarily, if not exclusively, in the context of the child's culture as it is mediated by parents, siblings, and other members of the parents' primary social group. Furthermore, while communication behaviors are learned in the socialization process, it is important to note that children are at the same time actively engaged in the construction of "emic models of the social worlds in which they find themselves" (Erickson, 1976, p. 25), and that those models are themselves influenced by the behaviors of others in the environment. Since efficient and effective social functioning requires competence in communication, the criteria for which are culturally defined, and since particular communicative behaviors are defined and used differently by various cultural groups (as this brief review demonstrates), it follows that relationships will be problematic when a child of any ethnicity enters a social context (e.g., school) whose communicative rules have been established and are enforced by persons of differing ethnicity. The problematic relationships and their consequences are dramatically compounded when those responsible for maintaining the rules of the setting are naive with respect to the communicative dynamics of the natural social world of the child, for they are then able neither to recognize and accept without prejudice the behavioral differences involved, nor to negotiate new rules for interaction.

Thus communication by persons of differing cultural or ethnic identification is frequently difficult and confused. Vastly different perceptions of reality, shaped by distinctive value systems and attitudes, underlie the problem. Nonverbal communicative behaviors are especially vulnerable to misinterpretation; as Kochman (1971) put it, interethnic communication difficulties are most frequently due to a failure to read cultural codes accurately. That such misreading is likely in schools was demonstrated by London (1976), who found that although verbal messages of black and white teachers were perceived similarly by black and white observers, the meanings of the teachers' nonverbal behaviors were interpreted quite differently. Such misperception consistently produces bewilderment and often feelings of anger, frustration, and pain. Invariably, Kochman (1971) observed, it has been the minority or subordinate cultural groups in society that suffer when communication fails. A school setting is "linguistically deprived" for blacks, wrote Hynes (1972),

> . . . if the language of their natural competence is not that of the school; if the purposes to which they put language, and the ways in which they do so, are absent or prohibited in the school. The situation of the children, indeed, is much worse than 'deprivation' if their normal competence is punished in the school. One could speak more appropriately of 'repression.' (pp. xx-xxi)

The Problem

The problem of educational inequity has typically been addressed through consideration of ascriptive theories, which locate the source of inequity in institutional or systemic practices of a society, and deficit theories, which assume that pariah status is a function of genetic or cultural inadequacy. We have argued that ascriptive theories are inadequate to explain inequalities among groups that are morphologically indistinct, while deficit theories have insufficient power to explain ethnically-associated failures

in educational settings when members of the "school failure" groups manifest competent adaptation in other complex social contexts. Both theoretical approaches are descriptive, and have little or no useful explanatory power.

We have called previously for research on at least two levels: the development of a theory or theories that will help explain the ontogeny and maintenance of dominant-minority culture relations in schools; and empirical studies that will illuminate our understanding of how children come to be considered educational winners or losers. The body of research summarized here suggests a potentially fruitful direction for the development of a theory of educational inequity which explains rather than merely predicts, and which offers hope for remediation rather than despair. A great deal of research will need to be undertaken, however, before practical implications become clear.

The present project constitutes a "first step" toward the formulation of a "cultural difference" theory of educational equity. Its purpose was to verify the existence of ethnically different communicative behaviors in the school, and to describe some of those behaviors and their consequences. Although most research in the classroom interaction has focused on teacher behavior and teacher-student interaction, our focus was on student-student interaction, (with teacher behavior a peripheral concern), since we wished to examine interaction that was as free as possible of institutionally imposed status differences between communicants. Specifically, then, we aimed to discover whether there are quantifiable differences in interactive behavior between students of varying ethnicity.

PROCEDURES

In this section the details of gaining access to a study site are summarized, after which a general description of the site is presented. The section concludes with specific descriptions of the methods employed in the present study.

Entree

When the proposal for this project was being developed, we first discussed our site needs with the College of Education administrator who serves as liaison between the College and the Atlanta Public Schools. He in turn secured the approval of the Atlanta superintendent, who recommended that we consult with the superintendent of a designated Area within the district. After detailed explanation of the project to the Area Superintendent, we were referred with a positive recommendation to the principal of a school judged by the Area Superintendent to fit our need for a successfully desegregated study site.

Several meetings were held with the principal of the school that had been recommended to us. The principal expressed high interest and enthusiasm for the project, and informed us that he would allow us to make a presentation to the teachers so that individual commitments to participation could be secured. The presentation was made at a specially-called teachers' meeting but the circumstances of that meeting virtually guaranteed the teachers' refusal to participate in the study; they did, in fact, refuse. It was subsequently concluded that the negative circumstances of the meeting were due, not to the project or its personnel, but rather to the particular combination of administrative pressures to which the school's staff was responding at that time.

The Area Superintendent was again consulted; she expressed regret that we had not been successful, and recommended a second potential site. We met with Mr. Penn, the principal of Lake Elementary School, and received his permission to talk with teachers individually, rather than at a general meeting. We learned at this time that Lake's faculty was comprised only of women, so Drs. Stulac and Irvine (both women) of the project staff made arrangements to speak with individual teachers. After a number of contacts were made, the fifth-grade class of Mrs. Wheeler was selected for intensive study. Two other teachers told us they would consider allowing us to use their classes for less intensive study, if interruptions to normal routine were minimal.

Gaining entree to a study site was thus a rather time-consuming process for us, for several reasons. For one thing, personnel of schools located within commuting distance of a major urban university often feel overstudied, and we have heard this sentiment from a number of teachers and principals in connection with our work on this and previous projects. A second reason has to do with what we perceive to be the sensitivity of most school administrators to the possibility of arousing negative public opinion. Even after promises of total anonymity in all aspects of the study, administrators considering potential study sites seemed concerned that their schools avoid the possibility of adverse publicity beyond that already being experienced. Moreover, the focus of the present study--interethnic relations--arouses not only sensitivity but also defensiveness on the part of many school officials and teachers.

The study site was secured near the end of November, 1978, substantially later than had been anticipated. This delay was the result of two factors. The work of gaining access to a site had originally been planned for August, but the grant award was not made until September 30, so that no serious site negotiations could be conducted until after that date. The second factor contributing to the delay was the difficulty in gaining entree to the first-nominated site, as described above.

The data collection work of the project began unofficially in December, 1978. While site arrangements had been completed by this time, it was discovered that, contrary to advice we had received from a system administrator, no data could officially be collected without the approval of the Research and Evaluation Section of the school system. As soon as this was discovered, the necessary materials were prepared and submitted, and final approval was granted on January 4, 1979.

The Study Site

Lake Elementary School serves approximately 300 students in kindergarten through fifth grade. The school is located on the edge of a mostly-white, upper middle class neighborhood in a large southern city. About half of Lake's students live in the neighborhood, while the remainder are bused from distant neighborhoods to the school pursuant to a voluntary busing program established by the city to meet pressures for desegregation. Virtually all of the bused children are black, and qualified for supplemental breakfast and lunch service under one or another federal program. Bused and neighborhood children are distributed about equally in all classrooms of the school.

For the past several years, Lake has maintained its position within the top 15 elementary schools in the city system, based on scores achieved on the Iowa Tests or Basic Skills and a school average "Age Achievement Quotient." The school staff was stable, in that most of the teachers had worked in that school for more than ten years, and three had taught there for more than 25 years. The principal (a white male) was in his third year of service at Lake, having taken the position on the death of his predecessor, who had served Lake for more than 10 years. Before assuming his present position, the principal (Mr. Penn) had had several years' experience as Assistant Principal in an all-black ghetto school.

Lake's Parent-Teacher Association has been active in the life of the school for many years. For example, in addition to providing and maintaining the hanging plants that line the main corridor of the school, and serving as volunteer helpers for pupil field trips and other activities, members of the PTA designed and constructed a small "outdoor classroom" in a school courtyard, and donated a large statue for another courtyard area. Active members of the Lake PTA include parents of several of the bused children.

It would be inappropriate to describe more specific information about the school, because of confidentiality agreements negotiated before and during the study with school system administrators.

After discussions with the principal and with several teachers who were willing to participate in the study, a fifth-grade classroom was selected for the intensive observations of the project. The class was taught by a white female of about 45 years of age who had entered teaching when her children reached the teen years. The teacher (Mrs. Wheeler) had

been teaching for five years, two of them at Lake and three in an all black inner-city school. Mrs Wheeler's class consisted of 28 children (9 black girls, 4 white girls, 9 black boys, and 6 white boys).

METHODS

Participant Observation

The participant observation engaged in for this study was employed, not for the generation of primary data, but for two ancillary purposes: (1) to provide descriptive detail regarding salient elements of the classroom context; and (2) to allow for corroboration of conclusions drawn from other data sources. The field notes were also useful as a source of information for decisions about other types of data collection (see especially at Videotaping, below).

The observer employed was a young black female graduate student with some teaching experience but with no previous experience in participant observation methodology. Thus, her early observation activities served as training for the observer as well as for the collection of useful context information. Observations were made in the target classroom approximately five times per month from January through June, 1979. Periods of observation were about equally divided between morning and afternoon hours (43.2% morning, 56.8% afternoon), and across the first four days of the week (20%, 24%, 29%, 23%, and 4%, respectively, Monday through Friday).

Additional Observations and Interviews

In order to assess the general climate of the school, detailed observation of the principal was carried out during each of two days. The principal

investigator and coinvestigator each "shadowed" Mr. Penn, the principal of Lake, during an entire day (7:30 A. M. to 4:15 P. M.). Detailed notes were made of the nature and frequency of his various activities and interactions during the day. Extended interviews were also conducted, both with Mr. Penn and Mrs. Wheeler, by a white female graduate student trained for this purpose.

Data from these activities provided enrichment for our general impressions and were useful for understanding the school and classroom environments. These data were not subjected to detailed analyses, except as noted below.

Sociometric assessment

In order to assess friendship patterns for the general population of the school as well as for the target classroom, sociometric data were collected from pupils in each of the two fourth-grade and two fifth-grade classrooms at Lake Elementary. A set of cards was prepared for each class, with the name of each pupil printed on a 3" by 5" index card. In individual administrations, each pupil was instructed to sort the shuffled cards into piles, such that each pile represented a group of pupils who were perceived by the sorter as being friendly with one another. The sorter's name was included in the deck. No limit was placed on either the number of piles to be made or on the number of cards allowed per pile; resultant groupings typically ranged from one to ten cards per pile. After each administration, a record was made of groupings constructed by the sorter, and cards were reshuffled for the next administration.

The data thus collected were analyzed by class, using Latent Partition Analysis (Wiley, 1967), a procedure designed to identify hypothetical latent dimensions of categorizations of items from the manifest categorizations provided by a group of sorters. The computer program for the procedure (CESSIO) was obtained from a researcher at Boston University and adapted for use on the Univac 70/7 computer of Georgia State University.

Videotaping

The phenomena of primary interest for the present study were interactions of pupils. Original plans for recording pupil interactions called for two-camera videotaping within the target classroom. However, analysis of classroom processes, based on the field notes of the observer, revealed that virtually all activities in that classroom were individualized, so that hardly any student-with-student interactions occurred that were not surreptitious and unpredictable. As a result, it was decided that videotaping would be done away from the regular classroom, and a search was begun for activities that would facilitate interaction between students. At this point, several specialists in Social Sciences education for the elementary grades were consulted to aid in task selection.

The first task chosen was a modified form of the popular NASA simulation, "Lost on the Moon," often used in studies of group process and decision-making. For this task, pairs of pupils were brought to the classroom used for taping. The problem situation was explained, after which each pupil made individual choices of "what to bring on the trek across the moon." The pupils were then seated before the camera and instructed to report and discuss their choices with each other, and to work toward agreement. This task did not work well, since few pupils had been exposed to studies of the moon, and the index card on which each pupil had recorded his or her choices served to focus gaze, so that both interest and interaction suffered. In addition, perhaps because of the low interest and understanding, oral behavior consisted mainly of undecipherable mumbles and one- or two-word fragments, interspersed with long periods of silence. For this activity, same-sex pupil pairs of like ethnicity (same-ethnic) were used.

The second task was used with same-sex, cross-ethnic pairs, and resulted in slight improvement in interaction between pupils. For this task, pupils were instructed to imagine that they were to become co-teachers of a new fifth-grade class, and were told to talk about rules and activities they would consider in order to make "their" fifth grade the "very best fifth grade in the school." This task worked fairly well for most pupil pairs, especially for girls. We speculated that among the factors responsible for the difficulties of some pupils were their lack of experience with team teaching situations, and the difficulty (especially for some boys) of seeing themselves in the role of teacher.

At this point the participant observer was asked to speak with the children about their apparent low interest in the first two taping tasks. When asked what they would like to do, the pupils unanimously voted for "TV Skits" --reenactments of various television show episodes. Since there was no common agreement about which shows to "play," we designed a two-part task. For the first part of the task, pupils were given a period of 10 minutes to plan what they wanted to do, and how; this was followed by another period of about 10 minutes in which they acted out the skit they had planned. Because all skits named in the classroom discussion required more than two actors, pupils were drawn for these tasks in same-sex groups of four (two white and two black).

Following the skit enactment, pupils were seated in semicircular fashion around a table (allowing full camera view) and asked to play "Shoot the Moon," a dice game that requires group cooperation and decision-making in order to "shoot the moon" and amass maximum points in 13 moves.

For all tasks, pupils who had not participated after all possible same-sex pairs or quartets had been formed were taped in various sex/ethnic combinations for all tasks. Ath the end of all taping sessions, selected episodes of the "TV Shows" were shown to the entire class, to their unanimous delight.

Because of the limited oral behavior and gaze focus of the participants in the first task, verbal transcripts were impossible to produce. For the last three tasks, a number of factors precluded detailed analysis: the audio tracks were of variable quality due to technical difficulties with the equipment; there was a great deal of simultaneous speech for which audio separation was impossible; and the pitch and frequency ranges of the pupils' voices were highly similar. Consequently, detailed transcripts were made, and analyses conducted, only for the tapes of pupils engaged in the second task.

For purposes of analysis, coding conventions were developed based on the work of Dittman and Wynne (1961) for linguistic variables, Birdwhistell (1970) and Ekman and Friesen (1972) for kinesic variables, and von Cranach (1971) for gaze variables. Transcripts were taken from the videotapes and supplementary audiotapes, and oral, gaze, and kinesic behavior was coded from videotapes for subsequent computer analyses. Coding conventions and analysis results are described in the Results section, below.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section will present information regarding the school and classroom social context through descriptions of the behavior of Mr. Penn (Lake's principal) and Mrs. Wheeler, teacher of the fifth-grade class on which this project focused. Observations and interviews comprise the data sources for these descriptions. Results of sociometric analysis of friendship groups will then be described, supplemented by information from field notes of the participant observer. The section will conclude with reports based on analyses of videotaped interactions of the pupils of Mrs. Wheeler's fifth-grade.

The Principal

Two full-day observations of Mr. Penn were conducted for the purpose of understanding aspects of the administrative climate of the school. In the absence of detailed observational reports of principal behavior, no comparisons are possible, and no assumptions are made about generalizability of the present data to other schools and principals. We attempted to avoid, both during the observations themselves and during analysis of our notes, any questions that were evaluative in nature. We further required that any features of Mr. Penn's interactions must have been observed on both of the days of observation in order to be reported here.

Mr. Penn's interactive behavior appeared to fall naturally into two categories, which were labelled "control" and "student discipline." In the "control" category, it was noted that Mr. Penn appeared to know the names of all or most students at Lake School. Whenever he noticed a student who was "out of place" or behaving inappropriately (e.g., running in the corridor,

talking during assembly), he called the student by name in all cases, and frequently added a reprimand or corrective injunction. Mr. Penn moved around the school regularly, and tended to require acknowledgement of his presence in all areas of the school, using greeting (with all adults and some students), reprimand (with some students), touch (with one or two adults and students), and "business talk" (with adults) which involved his telling or asking about administrative matters. When Mr. Penn noticed that pupils were in a courtyard (e.g., during a recess period), he opened the appropriate corridor door and called to the teacher(s), withdrawing after having exchanged pleasantries. It was our conclusion that these behaviors contributed a great deal to the perception of teachers that Mr. Penn was generally available nearby, as well as to the perception of parents and other visitors that he was a warm and friendly person. The same behaviors seemed also to be important in keeping Mr. Penn fully informed about activities going on in the school building and in strongly reducing the likelihood that pupils or teachers would engage in inappropriate behavior. Moreover, the control behaviors referred to here were not confined to school corridors. The arrival of visitors several times a month and the fact that the school served as a training site for student teachers of a university in the city allowed Mr. Penn to make legitimate entry into all classrooms, where the same behaviors were observed.

Whether in or out of the school office, Mr. Penn appeared to be sensitive to the presence of unknown or unexpected persons, and when he noticed them he immediately responded to them. It was here that a consistent difference was noticed in Mr. Penn's responses to adults compared to his responses to children, for he regularly greeted unknown or unexpected adults

with the question, "May I help you?" while he responded to all unexpected pupil appearances with "What do you need?" The relational information embedded in the two questions, as well as in his manner of asking them, suggests that Mr. Penn began all unscheduled interactions with adults with an implicit assumption of status equality, while he began similar interactions with children with an assumption of unequal status.

Each morning an "opening ritual" was conducted using the public address system (PA) that connected all classrooms with the school office. The ritual typically followed the same pattern each school day and included the playing of a recording of the national anthem, the pledge of allegiance, special announcements, regular announcements, and a listing of items on the lunch menu for that day. With the microphone on, Mr. Penn recited the first line of the pledge, then switched off the microphone and listened to the pupils in classrooms as they completed the recitation. Special announcements included reports of administrative needs ("Teachers, check the testing rosters for missing names and report any missing names..."), reports of visitors expected that day, and reminders of field trip and other arrangements ("Classes, you need to get your money collected for the Children's Theater trip..."). Regular announcements included a listing of classes with perfect attendance on the previous day and a listing of classes having had no tardy pupils on the previous day (each list followed by praise). The opening ritual usually required about five minutes, after which classroom activities were begun in earnest.

Like all principals, Mr. Penn was called upon to deal with students who had been sent or brought to the office for disciplinary infractions. During the two full days of observation, seven black pupils (six boys and one girl)

and four white pupils (all boys) were involved in disciplinary interaction with Mr. Penn. Three white pupils were brought at one time by the librarian, who complained about a problem in which all three had been participants; all other pupils arrived independently of one another. The following interaction between Mr. Penn and a black fifth-grade boy illustrates several patterns that were common to almost all such events that occurred during the days of observation. The dialogue was recorded verbatim by the observer.

(1:05 P.M.)

The student (S) enters the office with a note. Mr. Penn (P) takes the note and tells S to come with him into P's office. P sits in a chair near the office door, and S sits across from him; both are seated in office-type chairs with arms.

P 1: (holding folded note) I'll read this later. First you tell me what happened, why you're here.

S 1: Well, we was at lunch, and A., he stepped on my foot and then he/

P 2: /He break your foot?

S 2: No, sir. He stepped on my foot and I stepped back and Mrs. Wheeler say don't you know I have the right to take up for another student/

P 3: /Your foot being stepped on, was it on purpose? Say!

S 3: I dunno.

P 4: Any signs you could use to figure it out?

S 4: He stepped on the front of my foot/

P 5: /You know what an accident is? You gonna live?

S 5: Yes. (looking down and to left of P)

P 6: Look at me! We don't always have to get back at people, you know. He might have purposely stepped on your foot, you could pretend it was an accident, without making a big deal. Some things, it's not worth our energy to get back.

S 6: Yes, sir.

P 7: You can win without having to strike back at somebody. Everybody in that room knows not to mess with you, there's nothing you need to prove. You know that? Say!

S 7: I dunno/

P 8: /You don't see people picking a fight with you, do you?

S 8: Sometimes.

P 9: But not very often, and that's when you made 'em mad. (reads note) People expect you'll be the one to create problems, so you may get sent here even when you're not the one who did wrong. You made this reputation for yourself. Sometimes you can resolve things without a fight. Sometimes you could use a sense of humor, or even make believe it didn't happen.

(Silence, about 30 seconds. P looks at S's face; S seems to be looking at area of P's right shoulder or below. P shifts position slightly toward his right.)

P 10: You think you can go back and get things straight with A.? Let's make a plan for how you can do this. I don't want you to end up back here like yesterday.

S 10: I didn't come back yesterday.

P 11: No, but I got a note, and the only reason you didn't come back here was that I had all those visitors. You threatened another student, that you would beat him up, and Mrs. Wheeler sent me a note. (Brief interchange about details of the previous day's situation.)
I'm tired of it. I've tried to be understanding with you but it hasn't helped; you're up here two or three times a week. (Pause, 2 or 3 seconds) Right or wrong?

S 11: (looking down and to P's right) Right.

P 12: Right. And I'm tired of it.

S 12: But it...I ain't always the one to start it.

P 13: Maybe not, but you're easy to start things with. You go sit outside in the office a while. (P watches as S goes out.)

(1:20 P.M.)

(S fell asleep in a chair in the outer office and remained there until 2:30 P.M. when Mr. Penn woke him and sent him back to class with a warning to behave and to apologize to Mrs. Wheeler.)

Several patterns typical of Mr. Penn's interactions with pupils are illustrated in the episode presented above. It was not unusual, for example, for Mr. Penn to begin an interaction by requesting an explanation (P1), then to interrupt the pupil's response (S1-P2, S2-P3, S4-P5), and to discount or reject the pupil report. After the interaction had begun, Mr. Penn tended to ask questions that required only agreement or disagreement (P2, P3, P5, P7, P8, P11); for most such questions a "correct" answer was clearly implied by the preceding verbal content and the overall context (P2, P5, P7, P11).

The student involved in the episode reported was, as indicated in P11, a frequent visitor to the school office, and had apparently learned to use "sir" in some of his responses. In interactions with other students, when a student response was not given in appropriate form, Mr. Penn followed the (unapproved) response immediately with "I beg your pardon!" (spoken as a statement rather than as a question); all students quickly rephrased their response to the form, "Yes, sir" or "No, sir." Not shown in the episode above is that Mr. Penn required immediate responses (to his interrogatories) from black students, but not from whites. By immediate here is meant the duration of one phonemic clause, slightly less than a second for Mr. Penn's speech pattern. When a black pupil did not respond within this time period, Mr. Penn pointed with a movement of his right hand toward the pupil, index finger straight, and simultaneously said "Say!" (P3, P7). With white pupils, Mr. Penn simply waited; the white pupils tended to respond at the end of the second phonemic clause interval.

In addition, black pupils tended to avoid eye contact with Mr. Penn in the disciplinary situations observed, while white pupils did not avoid it. This is consistent with the research cited above (p. 16). With black pupils, Mr. Penn's upper body and head moved regularly in the direction of the pupils' gaze line, as if to intercept their gaze and establish eye contact. A remarkable exception to this behavior pattern was observed in Mr. Penn's interaction with the black female pupil, who both responded in synchrony with Mr. Penn's phonemic clause rhythm and also maintained eye contact throughout the interaction. The disciplinary interview with this girl took place near the end of the second day of observation, and since the interaction behaviors observed did not correspond with the patterns already noted, the observer asked Mr. Penn about the girl after she had left the office. Mr. Penn reported that she was from an upper-middle SES family and had lived in the school neighborhood for several years. All other black pupils involved in disciplinary interactions were bused from predominantly black neighborhoods.

Although it would clearly be unwise to assume generalizability from a single instance, the exception noted was taken tentatively as supportive of the "cultural-difference" theory proposed here. While the girl's primary kinship group was black, her primary friendship group associations were with white children whose families enjoyed similar SES to that of her family. She had apparently learned communicative behaviors that are typical, not of her "ethnic" identification, but of the society of the neighborhood. Unfortunately, since the girl was not a member of Mrs. Wheeler's class, we did not have opportunity to observe her in interaction with other pupils.

In the extended interview, Mr. Penn responded in ways that were seen as highly consistent with his observed behavior, especially in the "control"

area described above, although his observed "student discipline" behavior was less consistent with his expressed aims as a principal. This is illustrated by his response to the question, "What do you try to achieve as a principal?" (transcribed from audiotape):

> Well, several things. One, I try to, I guess my major function is to try to help establish a healthy climate in the school. Of course, that's a broad kind of objective and I think you get at it a lot of different ways. . . . But I think one of the most important overall things that makes a difference in a school is the feeling that you get in the building, not just when you first come in but when you're here all day, everyday. And that has aspects of personal qualities in it, the use of parents to come in, the way we related to parents. It doesn't always mean being nice to the kids all the time, but in letting them know that they will have an opportunity to explain their side of the story in whatever situation is involved. There's a feeling of acceptance but also rules and procedures that have to be followed so that all of us can get along well together.

Mr. Penn saw desegregation as "one of the healthiest kinds of things that can happen for kids." He reported that from his perspective, one of the problems of desegregation was that "sometimes people are quick to perceive harmless situations as racially motivated," although "we haven't had too much of that here, in fact, almost none of it." He stated that the biggest problem was one of teacher adjustment for older (especially white) teachers, and that another problem was the difficulty of maintaining close contact with parents of minority children who lived a long way from the school.

Mr. Penn's "person-centered" approach to the role of principal was also reflected in his response to the question, "Are there some ways, given the problems you've mentioned, that you can help the people work out the problems?"

> I think so. . . Part of it, I think, is by modeling, you know, for people to see. When I say people, it means parents, teachers, and children and visitors, to watch me relate to all different folks of different races in all role groups, umm, to help parents feel comfortable, to come into the school regardless of their race or their income level. . . and sometimes in helping teachers

> specifically plan how to deal with certain types of kids. That can be, not only a black kid from a poor neighborhood, but also can be the upper middle class white kid whose parents are a little bit too busy sometimes to take care of his needs . . .

In describing a teacher "who is doing especially well this year," Mr. Penn mentioned competence in classroom management several times, and praised his choice for initiative in planning for instructional variety and parental involvement. The teacher he described as "not doing as well as the others" was described as "one of the best" in subject matter who also "does a good job with the instructional material." His major complaints about her were that she treated black and white children differently and that she did not cooperate well with coworkers.

Mr. Penn's values as principal appear not to be different from those one might expect of any principal. From his perspective, school should be a pleasant place where all people involved get along well, where parents are involved in various aspects of the life of the school, where teachers are instructionally competent and effective managers of the classroom, and where pupils enjoy learning and behave well.

The Teacher

As already indicated, Mrs. Wheeler had completed certification requirements for teaching when her children were in their middle and late teens, and had been teaching for five years before the year of this study. During her interview, she described her motivation for entering teaching as related to difficulties her children had experienced in school. In her words:

> When my children were in school the teaching pattern was somewhat restrictive in that they expected children to come in and sit down and sit in their seat the whole day and do as they're told and my children had more energy than

> most children. . . . They always got B's in deportment and A's in their subjects so we had that hassle all the way through school. . . . I decided that maybe I could do a better job than some of them that taught my children because I had a little bit more understanding about what some of them went through.

Mrs. Wheeler's goal in teaching was not simply that her students achieve high grades, "but a change of attitude that would make them want to get an education to further their interests and make them happier people." Mrs. Wheeler stated that if such attitudes became more positive, better grades usually followed. She indicated that she tried to see that every pupil experienced success in some way, and that she also worked to avoid reinforcing nonachievement, which she saw as a way pupils could sometimes "punish" the teacher:

> In my class in particular, a great number of the ones that I have had have developed an attitude to get the grades for the teachers and therefore they can punish that teacher by withholding good grades. . . . They could get more attention by not doing the work than they could by doing the work and they could also come in and disrupt the whole classroom for a day by making the teacher mad. . . .

Mrs. Wheeler spoke positively of her teaching experiences, and claimed that most teaching days were good days: "The only ones that are really bad for me are when I'm too tired to really do an adequate job." In general, she allowed students to select their own seating arrangements, and overruled student seating choices only if pupils behaved in ways that were disturbing to others: "I tell them if they want to sit by someone and they can do it and work, then they can sit there, but if it doesn't work out that way, then we'll have to move them somewhere else." Discipline problems were usually dealt with in the classroom ("We talk about them--we're a talking class"), but "severe problems" or situations in which pupils seemed not to respond to her in the classroom led to Mrs. Wheeler's referral of the pupil(s) involved to Mr. Penn for discipline.

In Mrs. Wheeler's opinion, desegregation had not created any notable problems for the school. Black students, she thought, might have had more difficulty in getting along in their previous schools than at Lake. The interviewer noted that Mrs. Wheeler tended to avoid direct response to questions about any negative aspects of her experience. In response to the question, "What are the major problems white students face here at Lake?" for example, Mrs. Wheeler said:

> I think students and children of all ages . . . have their own problems regardless of what situation they're in and they're all trying to work them out the best they can. Some of them take the wrong way in working them out but I don't think it's a thing of a situation producing problems. I think they bring their problems into the situation.

Examination of the classroom observer's field notes suggests that Mrs. Wheeler's behavior in the classroom was not remarkably different from that of teachers whose interactions with students have been studied more directly (Adams & Biddle, 1970; Brophy & Good, 1974; Good & Brophy, 1973). She appeared to spend relatively more time in teacher-pupil interactions dealing with behavior management and classroom organization than in academic instruction, and very little time overall engaged in group instruction. It should be noted, however, that learning activities of the students were almost totally individualized, so that it was not only unusual for Mrs. Wheeler to lecture to the total class, it was also exceptionally rare that a student was seen working on an academic task with more than one other person at a time. Consistent with other reports of teacher behavior, Mrs. Wheeler seemed to focus substantially more disciplinary interactions on boys, as opposed to girls.

The impressions reported above are deliberately couched in cautious language. They are offered only to suggest to the reader that Mrs. Wheeler's classroom behavior was not markedly different from that of many other equally dedicated and competent teachers. No aspect of the present study was designed to provide data for the purpose either of characterizing Mrs. Wheeler specifically, or of making inferences about "teachers" in general, in any empirically "significant" way.

Sociometric Data

Sociometric data were collected from students in two fourth- and two fifth-grade classes of Lake Elementary School, according to the methods described above (Procedures). The data were analyzed using latent partition analysis (LPA), a procedure designed to extract hypothetical latent categorizations of items from the manifest categorizations of a group of sorters. In this case, the pupils in each of the four classes were the sorters and were also the "items" sorted. Results of LPA analyses show estimated probabilities of each pupil's association with each of the latent groupings identified for his or her class (Tables 1 through 4).

As one might expect for students of this age range, sex of student was a critical dimension for grouping. Of the four classes analyzed, no primary group was identified that consisted of both males and females. Pupil ethnicity was only slightly less powerful as a dimension of grouping; of the groupings identified for the four classes (22 in all), only nine included both black and white members. One of the nine showed primary group membership for three black and two white males (Table 4), while none of the eight remaining ethnically mixed student groups included more than one member of an ethnicity other than that of the group's majority membership.

Table 1. Latent Partition Analysis of Grade 4, Class A

	Eth[1]	Sex	Latent Groups 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	W	F	100[2]	...	...	...	...	...	...
2.	W	F	100	...	...	...	...	...	...
3.	W	F	86	...	...	...	15	...	...
4.	B	F	...	100	...	...	...	...	...
5.	B	F	...	100	...	...	...	...	...
6.	B	F	...	100	...	...	...	...	...
7.	B	F	10	76	...	...	...	...	...
8.	B	F	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
9.	B	F	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
10.	W	F	15	...	86	...	...	...	...
11.	W	F	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
12.	W	F	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
13.	W	F	52	...	...	61	...	...	...
1.	W	M	...	...	...	...	100	...	...
2.	W	M	...	...	...	...	100	...	...
3.	W	M	...	...	...	...	100	...	...
4.	W	M	...	...	...	...	100	...	...
5.	W	M	...	...	...	...	63	...	...
6.	B	M	...	...	...	...	...	100	...
7.	B	M	...	...	...	...	...	98	...
8.	B	M	...	...	...	...	...	97	...
9.	W	M	...	...	...	...	32	...	100
10.	W	M	...	...	...	...	18	13	96
11.	B	M	...	...	...	...	29	...	74

1. Ethnicity: W = White, B = Black
2. Estimated probabilities are reported to two places. Decimal points are omitted, as are all p s of less than .10.

Table 2. Latent Partition Analysis of Grade 4, Class B

	Eth[1]	Sex	Latent Groups 1	2	3	4	5
1.	B	F	100[2]	...	...	...	...
2.	B	F	100	...	...	...	...
3.	B	F	100	...	...	...	...
4.	B	F	100	...	...	...	...
5.	W	F	99	...	...	...	...
6.	W	F	10	100	...	...	...
7.	W	F	10	100	...	...	...
8.	W	F	...	100	...	...	...
9.	W	F	29	73	...	...	...
10.	B	F	33	72	...	...	...
1.	B	M	...	...	100	...	...
2.	B	M	...	...	100	...	...
3.	B	M	...	...	100	...	...
4.	B	M	...	...	100	...	...
5.	B	M	...	...	62	...	42
6.	W	M	...	...	...	100	...
7.	W	M	...	...	...	99	...
8.	W	M	...	...	...	96	...
9.	W	M	...	...	...	10	100
10.	W	M	...	...	...	...	96
11.	W	M	...	...	...	12	94
12.	W	M	...	...	...	...	...

1. Ethnicity: W = White, B = Black

2. Estimated probabilities are reported to two places. Decimal points are omitted, as are all p s of less than .10.

Table 3. Latent Partition Analysis of Grade 5, Class A

	Eth[1]	Sex	Latent Groups 1	2	3	4
1.	W	F	100[2]	...	...	...
2.	W	F	100	...	...	...
3.	B	F	100	...	...	...
4.	W	F	78	28	...	...
5.	W	F	61	27	...	...
6.	B	F	...	100	...	...
7.	B	F	...	100	...	...
8.	B	F	15	82	...	...
1.	W	M	...	...	100	...
2.	W	M	...	...	100	...
3.	W	M	...	...	100	...
4.	W	M	...	...	100	...
5.	W	M	...	...	100	...
6.	W	M	...	...	99	...
7.	W	M	...	...	99	...
8.	W	M	...	...	98	...
9.	B	M	...	...	...	100
10.	B	M	...	...	...	100
11.	B	M	...	...	...	100
12.	B	M	...	...	...	100
13.	B	M	...	...	...	100
14.	B	M	...	...	...	100
15.	B	M	...	...	...	99
16.	W	M	...	16	...	61
17.	B	M	...	...	43	57
18.	W	M	...	...	...	...
19.	B	M	...	...	...	...

1. Ethnicity: W = White, B = Black

2. Estimated probabilities are reported to two places. Decimal points are omitted, as are all p s of less than .10.

Table 4. Latent Partition Analysis of Mrs. Wheeler's Fifth Grade

	Eth[1]	Sex	Latent Groups 1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	B	F	100	...	...	...	...	...
2.	B	F	100	...	...	...	...	...
3.	B	F	100	...	...	...	...	...
4.	B	F	100	...	...	...	...	...
5.	B	F	100	...	...	...	...	...
6.	B	F	98	14	...	...	...	...
7.	B	F	81	...	36	...	...	...
8.	W	F	...	97	...	...	...	...
9.	B	F	...	94	...	...	...	...
10.	W	F	...	90	10	...	...	...
11.	W	F	...	14	100	...	...	...
12.	B	F	19	...	96	...	...	...
13.	W	F	...	23	95	...	...	...
1.	B	M	...	...	...	100	...	...
2.	B	M	...	...	...	100	...	...
3.	B	M	...	...	...	100	...	...
4.	B	M	...	...	...	100	...	...
5.	B	M	...	...	...	69	15	25
6.	B	M	...	...	...	60	50	...
7.	B	M	...	...	...	...	100	...
8.	W	M	...	...	...	...	100	...
9.	B	M	...	...	...	22	100	...
10.	B	M	...	...	...	...	95	...
11.	W	M	...	...	10	...	73	41
12.	W	M	...	...	...	...	...	100
13.	W	M	...	...	16	...	...	100
14	W	M	...	...	...	...	26	79
15.	W	M	...	...	...	...	49	74

1. Ethnicity: W = White; B = Black
2. Estimated probabilities are reported to two places. Decimal points are omitted, as are all p s of less than .10.

Table 5. Samples of Typical Student Interaction as a Function of Latent Group Membership in Mrs. Wheeler's Fifth Grade

	Interaction with Comembers	Interaction with Nonmembers
BOYS	talking together quietly	talking threateningly
	walk into classroom together	"leave me alone!"
	borrowing papers	complaining about O's "bothering"
	"leader" directs: "I told you not to look at (nonmember)."	lighthearted sarcasm
	defends to others in argument	argues over ownership of pencil
	argues over math book	argues
	teacher complains to observer about associations (within group	gets help with lotus position
	defends in argument	argues over speed of motorbike
	playing checkers together	reports O's actions to teacher
	invite each other to play	shakes fist
		threatens for touching
GIRLS	quiet conversation	accuses to teacher
	defends to teacher	argues, threatens
	"secret" conference	makes faces
	refuses request for help; refusal is accepted	criticizes
	praises publicly to teacher	fight over use of ladder
		complains over exclusion from game

Analysis of participant observer field notes complemented the results of the LPA, in that interaction among comembers of a given latent group tended to be substantially more positive and collaborative than interaction between members and nonmembers. (The LPA results were not known to the observer during the period of observation.) While some positive interactions were reported to have occurred between members of different groups, and some negative interactions between comembers of a group, the majority of reported interactions were positive between comembers and negative between members and nonmembers of any group, except for pupils for whom the LPA-identified probabilities of association were greater than .10 for more than one group. For those pupils (i.e., for females 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, and 13, and for males 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14, and 15 shown on Table 4), interactions tended to be positive not only when they occurred with comembers of the primary group, but also when they occurred with members of the group for which the secondary association was identified. In general, these students also tended to be mentioned less frequently in the field notes than were other students (those showing no secondary group memberships), and were less often than others reported to be recipients of negative communications of the teacher.

Examination of the 35 secondary associations identified by LPA yielded findings regarding friendship affiliations that were consistent with those reported for primary associations. Only four pupils were secondarily associated with groups of other sex than their own (one fourth-grade white female and three fifth-grade white males), while the remaining 31 secondary associations (89%) were with same-sex groups. Ethnicity appeared to be less powerfully related to secondary group associations than was sex, in that

17 of the 35 secondary associations (49%) were with groups of other ethnicity. (The ethnicity of a group is considered here to be that of the majority of its comembers.)

The secondary associations of pupils were further analyzed according to each pupil's majority or minority ethnic status in his or her primary group (Table 6). This analysis revealed that 28 (32%) of the 88 pupils

Table 6. Secondary Group Associations by Pupil Ethnic Status in Primary Group

Pupil's Ethnic Status in the Primary Group	Pupil's Ethnicity	N	Ethnicity of Secondary Group: Black	White	Total
Majority	Black	45	3	7	10
	White	43	8	10	18
Minority	Black	5	2	1	3
	White	5	4	3	4

having majority status in their primary group were associated with a second group, and 15 (54%) of these secondary associations were with a group of other-ethnicity. Of the 10 pupils having minority status in their primary groups, 7 (70%) showed secondary associations, but only 2 of the 7 (28%) were with groups of other-ethnicity.

While the pattern of secondary associations shown in Table 6 involves too few pupils to allow confident generalization, the findings suggest the existence of complex factors underlying interethnic relations. One may speculate, for instance, that these results are best explained, not simply by reference to one or another single social context (e.g., that of school or classroom), but rather by consideration of the interrelationships of the multiple social contexts of individuals. In the four classes described here

each pupil (except for three isolates) was comember with others of (1) a small proximate group of friends, (2) a class, (3) a school population, and (4) a family/neighborhood culture that itself exists within larger social contexts, etc. Despite the almost even numbers of black and white pupils in the four classes (51 blacks and 50 whites), a substantially greater proportion of white pupils than black pupils showed friendship associations beyond their primary groups (44% and 24%, respectively; see Table 7).

Table 7. Pupils with Secondary Group Associations, by Ethnicity and Class[1]

	N of Class[2]		N of Pupils having Secondary Associations	
Class	Black	White	Black	White
4A	10	14	2 (20%)	5 (36%)
4B	10	11	2 (20%)	5 (55%)
5A	12	13	2 (17%)	3 (23%)
5W[3]	18	10	6 (33%)	8 (80%)
Totals	50	48	12 (24%)	21 (44%)

Notes: 1. These figures differ slightly from those of Table 6 because of pupils having two secondary associations.
2. Class N excludes three isolate males.
3. Mrs. Wheeler's class.

This may simply reflect the pupil's neighborhood affiliations, since the white pupils were from a single geographical area while the black pupils were bused from several neighborhoods. Alternatively, it may be associated with the greater social freedom manifested by members of a dominant group

within a society. The finding referred to regarding the four classes taken together was also present within each class, i.e., white pupils were more likely to show secondary group associations than were black pupils (Table 7). The effect was largest in Mrs. Wheeler's class, which was also the only class with more black than white pupils. (Only one of the eight white-pupil secondary associations in Mrs. Wheeler's class was with an other-ethnic group, while three of the six black-pupil secondary groups were other-ethnic, which parallels for the class the majority/minority finding (reported above) regarding primary groups within classes.

It was black pupils rather than white ones, however, who were more likely to have a secondary association with a group whose dominant ethnicity was different from their own--9 of 13 blacks (69%) had other-ethnic secondary associations, while for whites there were 9 other-ethnic associations of 22 possible (41%). This result may reflect the higher social value for minority group members (vis-a-vis the larger society) of association with members of the dominant (majority) group. Finally, one's minority status in a proximate group may override the effects of one's less immediate social contexts, given the tendency of minority members of the primary groups of the present study to have same-ethnic secondary associations. More precise description of the relative effects of multiple social contexts on friendship choices and other behavior awaits further research.

Analysis of Videotaped Interactions

As stated in the Procedures section of this report (above), the videotaped interactions that were analyzed were those of interethnic pairs responding to the second interactive task described. In all, there were five interethnic male and four interethnic female dyads. An additional

black male interaction for the same task was analyzed. The average duration of an interaction was 9 minutes, 7 seconds (:09:07) with individual interactions ranging from :03:55 to :11:49 in duration. After the tapes were made, a digital elapsed time indicater was superimposed that allowed coding of behavior at one-second intervals.

Transcripts were generated from the videotapes and checked for accuracy against supplementary audiotapes which had also been made. Verbal behavior was then diagrammed using a scheme adopted from Jaffe and Feldstein (1970) which showed the vocalization, pause, and interruptive and non-interruptive simultaneous speech of each speaker for each one-second interval of the interaction. Gaze, kinesic, and verbalization activity were coded from the videotapes using the conventions shown in Table 6. No attempt was made to discriminate kinesic activity beyond the general categories indicated, except that obvious adaptors were not coded. (Adaptors are self- or object-manipulations related to individual need or emotional state, e.g., scratching, leg-swinging, toying with pencil; Ekman & Friesen, 1972.) Because pupils were seated during their interactions, proxemic and orientation behavior were not assessed.

A computer program was developed for the purpose of converting the various sets of codings for each interaction into a graphic display (Figure 1), and also summarized the amounts of the various behaviors for each dyad (Figure 2). The resulting figures were then standardized by conversion to proportions in order to allow comparisons across dyads. Three-way Analyses of Variance (Verbal behavior, Sex, Ethnicity) were conducted for all gaze and kinesic variables and for the average duration of speech events. Given the reasoning underlying the investigation, the effect of interest was the

Table 6. Conventions for Videotape Coding

Activity	Code	Behavior
Gaze	1	Mutual gaze.
	2	Onesided look by pupil at left.
	3	Onesided look by pupil at right.
	4	Gaze omission (no face gaze by either pupil).
Vocalization	1	Person at left speaking.
	2	Person at right speaking.
	3	Simultaneous speech.
	4	Silence.
	5	Vocalization of questionable origin.
Kinesic	1	Movement of head.
	2	Movement of torso.
	3	Movement of left arm and/or hand.
	4	Movement of right arm and/or hand.
	5	Movement of both arms/hands (coordinated).
	6	Movement of left leg and/or foot.
	7	Movement of right leg and/or foot.

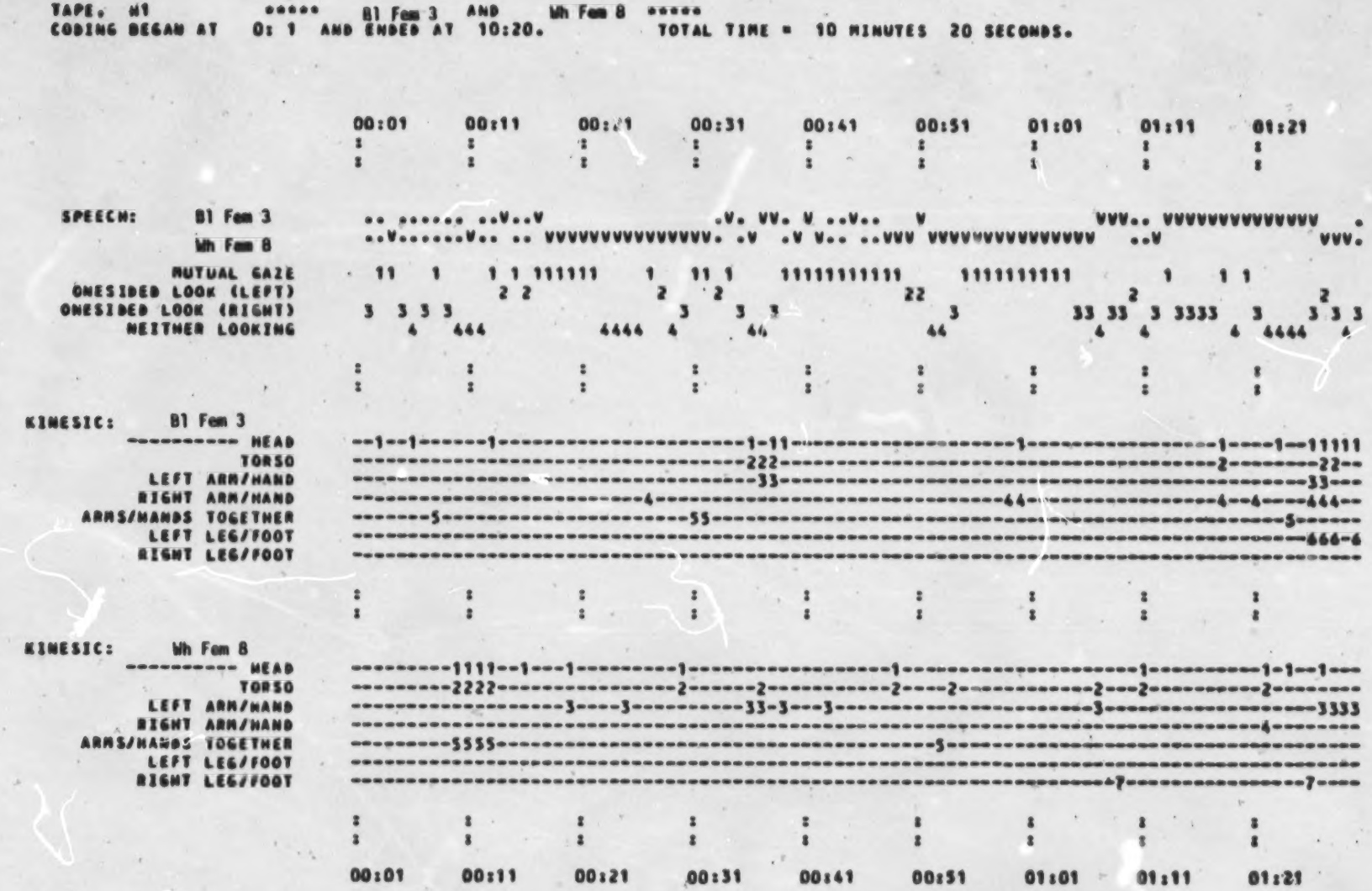

Figure 1. Illustration of Computer Chart for Videotape Coding

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TAPE, H1 ***** Bl Fem 3 and Wh Fem 8 *****
CODING BEGAN AT 0:1 AND ENDED AT 10:2C. TOTAL TIME = 10 MINUTES 20 SECONDS

***** GAZE AND BODY MOVEMENT DURING SPEECH EVENTS *****

		EVENTS	TOTSEC	AVE DUR	MUTL	ONE	NOT	HEAD	TORS	L-HA	R-HA	B-HA	L-LF	F-LF
WHILE TALKING	Bl Fem 3	46	226	4.913	61	23	142	47	15	19	25	29	4	0
	Wh Fem 8	54	312	5.778	92	90	130	41	25	26	26	47	2	1
WHILE OTHER TALKING	Bl Fem 3	54	312	5.778	92	38	194	56	17	29	52	26	1	
	Wh Fem 8	46	226	4.913	61	87	78	37	16	15	27	17	1	
WHILE INTERRUPTING	Bl Fem 3	3	3	1.000	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	
	Wh Fem 8	3	3	1.000	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	
WHEN INTERRUPTED	Bl Fem 3	3	3	1.000	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	
	Wh Fem 8	3	3	1.000	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	
NONINT SIMUL SPEECH	Bl Fem 3	3	3	1.000	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	
	Wh Fem 8				0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	
MUTUAL PAUSE	Bl Fem 3	38	72	1.895	24	13	35	19	7	2	5	6	1	0
	Wh Fem 8				24	15	33	19	7	6	4	9	0	0

Figure 2. Illustration of Videotape Coding Summary

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interaction of Ethnicity X Verbal Behavior Type. The result of analyses showed no significant effect for this interaction on any of the variables; that is, for the group of pupils used, there were no significant differences in gaze and kinesic behaviors associated with interethnic dyadic communication. Significant differences were found between boys and girls on several variables (Table 7), confirming the appropriateness of the decision to analyze behaviors only for same-sex dyads. In addition, all pupils showed Head Movement more during Pausing and Talking than during Listening (mean proportions were .142, .124, and .089, respectively; $F = 3.37$, $p = .044$), and there was a significant Sex x Ethnicity interaction for movement of the Left Leg/Foot. Examination of mean proportions for the latter effect showed white girls to have manifested the highest rate of left leg activity, followed by white and black boys, while black girls showed the lowest rate (the mean proportions were .093, .044, .041, and .018, respectively; $F = 4.49$, $p = .04$).

In addition to the analyses of variance, intercorrelations among all variables were calculated for explanatory purposes; relationships associated with a p of less than .05 are presented in summary form in Table 8, excluding the sex differences already noted. Although the relationships reported may in some cases raise interesting questions for the student of communication behavior and its acquisition by children, no comparable data were discovered in the relevant research literature. The importance and generalizability of the present findings therefore are yet to be judged. In any case, given the apparent absence of ethnic differences in the communicative behavior of the present sample, the relationships reported are not of primary interest to this investigation.

Additional explanatory approaches (including minute-by-minute analysis) with the present data in an effort to find specific ethnic-related patterns in

Table 7. Summary of Interaction Behavior Differences for Girls and Boys

Behavior	Mean for Girls	Mean for Boys	F	p
(p) Mutual Gaze	.342	.133	25.24	.000
(p) Head Movement	.159	.077	24.19	.000
(p) Torso Movement	.046	.026	6.52	.014
(p) Left Hand/Arm Movement	.068	.025	11.10	.002
(p) Both Hands/Arms Coordinated Movement	.044	.022	4.36	.043
(p) No Gaze	.468	.665	10.83	.002

Table 8. Summary of Significant Intercorrelations[1]

			M	F
1.	Length of Interaction and:	Duration of Speech Events	.328	.015
		Right Hand/Arm Movement	.296	.030
		Both Hands/Arms Movement[2]	.331	.014
2.	Average Duration of Speech Event and:	N of Speech Events	-.409	.002
		Mutual gaze	-.285	.037
		Head Movement	-.327	.016
3.	N of Speech events and:	Mutual Gaze	.420	.002
		Right Hand/Arm Movement	.320	.018
		No gaze events	-.288	.034
4.	Mutual Gaze and:	Right Hand/Arm Movement	.273	.046
		Right Leg/Foot Movement	-.271	.047
5.	Head Movement and:	Torso Movement	.572	.001
		Left Hand/Arm Movement	.415	.002
		Right Hand/Arm Movement	.394	.003
		Both Hands/Arms Movement[2]	.413	.002
6.	Torso Movement and:	Right Hand/Arm Movement	.300	.028
		Both Hands/Arms Movement[2]	.510	.001
7.	Both Hands/Arms Movement[2] and:	Left Hand/Arm Movement	.280	.040
		Right Hand/Arm Movement	.418	.002
		Right Leg/Foot Movement	-.291	.033
8.	Left Leg/Foot Movement and:	Right Leg/Foot Movement	.680	.001
		No-gaze events[3]	.273	.046

[1] Two-tailed test; df = 52.

[2] Movement of both hands/arms in coordinated action.

[3] Neither person looking at the other.

the interactive behavior of the pupils involved; none has been successful. Two alternative explanations may be offered for this state of affairs. On the one hand it might be argued that the technology employed, and the analysis applied, were not sufficiently sophisticated, given the complexity of the data to be examined. It might have seemed more appropriate, for example, to have used film rather than videotape for the behavioral analyses. Frame analysis of filmed episodes allows analysis of events in increments of .0385 seconds (26 frames per second) rather than the 1-second increments available to the present investigator. While frame analysis is available for videotape, it is accomplished only with expensive equipment and with considerable loss of image resolution. Modern voice-analysis technology might have allowed quantitative description of minute differences in pitch, tempo, and length of phonemic clause of a speaker.

On the other hand, however, it is possible that even with "state-of-the-art" technology--and sufficient money and time to take advantage of it--the final report would have taken much the same shape as the present report. For it may well be that these particular fifth-graders in this particular "successfully desegregated" school are successful with each other because they have adapted successfully to an interethnic school or classroom culture. They had been together for more than 800 hours of one school year before the videotaping was done for this study, and evidence has been reported that this may be more than enough time for entrainment to take place (Eaton & Clare, 1975; Patchen, 1977; Shaw, 1973; Works, 1967). A second explanation, then, for our failure to find clearly ethnically-related communication patterns, is that there are no such patterns to be found in the behavior of the pupils studied.

Summary and Conclusions

The study described herein was undertaken for the purpose of exploring the possibility that a "cultural communication" theory is more useful and veridical for explaining ethnically-related educational and social inequity than are either "ascriptive" of "deficit" theories. It was our expectation that instances could be ennumerated of interethnic conflict resulting from the use of divergent cultural codes governing communication behavior. The study site was identified as a successfully desegregated school by administrators of the urban school system to which it belongs. Observation of the classroom and the school principal, coupled with extended interviews of principal and classroom teacher, provided a description of a school in which apparent educational inequity takes place, and in which divergent cultural communication codes exist between students and adult professionals. The results of sociometric analyses suggested the operation of ethnic identity in primary and secondary friendship group affiliations among pupils. Extensive videotape analyses of interethnic communication events among students, however, failed to expose the expected differential ethnic patterns.

It is our opinion that in the context of the positive results indicated, the absence of evidence of clear interethnic communication differences among pupils may be the most remarkable finding of the study, despite the supportive nature of the "positive" results for our thesis.

During the more than six months we worked at Lake Elementary School, we became aware of no instances of interethnic conflict among pupils in any grade. This was not surprising, given the prevailing operational definition of a successfully desegregated school as one without interethnic conflict. Yet we observed (also without surprise) a disproportionate number of black

students, versus white ones, being sent "to the office" for disciplinary referral; we also observed the end-of-year awards convocation, at which white pupils received most of the academic awards, and black pupils (in general) received awards for various nonacademic activities in the school. These instances of educational inequity may of course be due partly to environmental and/or educational deprivation of blacks at previous schools attended. It is important to emphasize that they also occurred in a climate of high interethnic cooperation among adults--parents, teachers, and principal.

The focal subjects of the present study are age-mates in the societies of school and class. While their exposure to one another makes possible interethnic conflict one might argue that it cannot directly contribute to educational inequity, since as peers they do not have meaningful custody of important resources--grades, supplies, instructional time and quality, understanding, etc.--nor the responsibility for resource allocation. Our failure to identify interethnic communication code differences among status peers in Lake Elementary is consistent with the apparent absence of intercultural conflict among those same pupils. Interethnic educational inequity, however, is quite different from interethnic conflict. We submit that an important source of educational inequity is to be found, as originally proposed, in the confusion resulting from cultural code differences in interethnic encounter. The encounters crucial to interethnic conflict may well be those among peers; those crucial to educational equity, we propose, are those between the powerful and the powerless in the schools.

The research cited above (Behaviors in Interaction, p. 12 et seq.) provides strong logical and empirical support for the theory proposed. The present study provided additional support, not from direct analyses of the

focal data but from analyses of peripheral observations of interactions between adults and pupils. Further research is essential for an adequate test of the theory. Careful analysis of intra- and interethnic interactions between educators and pupils may destroy the theory; it may, alternatively, provide a rich body of data with profound implications for the achievement of educational equity for all persons.

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